/308 cont./

8 [171] 846 between father and child, the child is a duplication of him, the father has become double, and, for the sake of the helpless, irrational creature which represents a miniature edition of himself, he must himself behave like a child who must not come to harm. B [853] [761] Supposing that the child dies during the first days, how could the father who is filled with such ideas and who has eaten indigestible things doubt that he himself is at fault, especially since all sickness arises through the fault of another? B [811] What we call "pars pro toto" dominates popular belief everywhere with respect to sorcery or healing magic, although I do not believe that the sorcerer /309/ has a clear image of a "part" with which he is working. The "couvade" is carried out according to the same logic, except that here it is a case where the whole intercedes for the "part." It is all the same whether I pierce the hair of the enemy and thereby cause him to waste away, or whether, to the detriment of the child which has become detached from me, I eat food that it might not tolerate at all or at least not during the days when the separation takes place.

B [171] 764 Burial. All the tribes of the Kulisehu bury their dead. The body lies in west-east in such a way that the head looks toward the rising sun. (According to the statements of the Kamayurá, the Suyá bury their dead in a squatting position, the head with the feather ornament bent back and the eyes turned toward the setting sun.) The grave is on the village plaza. Among the Mehinakú we saw in front of the festival hut a heap of brush under which, at a shallow depth, the grave pit was said to be located; A [764] fat beetles were crawling out of holes in the ground and the place was alive with flies. Among the Auetö a square in front of the festival hut was staked off with thick, low posts connected by plaiting. It is photographed on Plate 15 /see p. 253/. I do not know whether it is a coincidence that the two sinuated sides of the square resemble the characteristic shape of the handle-plate of the throwing board. Among the Yaulapiti we saw a square grave fence.

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Chapter XIII.

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Science and Legend of the Bakaïrí

1. The Basic View.

Man need not die. Knowledge of the existence after death. Explanation of nature by means of stories. Animals = persons. Animals actually furnish culture, hence same explanation carried over for unknown origins. Origin of explanatory story. Celestial bodies, the oldest things, and animals. Significance of the Milky Way. Transformation. Men from arrows, women from maize pestles. Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The twins and their mother are not profound personifications.

[76] When in the course of making my linguistic recordings I gave Antonio* the sentence, "everyone must die," he was silent for some time, to my astonishment. There ensued the same long pause which I always had to cope with when I presented him with one of those abstractions so familiar to us, but so foreign to him. [811] I learned then for the first time that the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ does not know "must," he has not yet reached the point of deducing a general necessity from a series of always identical, recurring phenomena; quite specifically, however, he does not understand that man must die. He is still far from the thought which we memorize in the lowest classes of the Gymnasium,** "nemo mortem

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[113] * Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bacairi Grammar/, p. 183.

** As a boy I refused to believe it at heart and for many years, until I became more intimately acquainted with the nature of death, clung stubbornly to the hope that I might perhaps be an exception and not die, as is otherwise customary in the history of the world.

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761 effugere potest" /no one can flee death/. Antonio's translation, which avoided the word "must," yet showed that he correctly understood my view, came out rather twisted after a quarter of an hour of thinking: "I die only (and) we (die)." The interpreter, however, shook his head, dissatisfied; he had doubts which we, too, should scarcely be able to suppress if it were maintained: "all men must be murdered." The Indian seeks the cause of death only externally, in a nasty trick. If there were only good human beings, there would be neither sickness nor death. He knows nothing about a natural ebbing of the life process.

775 /369/ A second, not unessential difference between the interpretation of our Indians and that of civilized peoples concerns existence after death. That the earth's goods are unevenly distributed and a poor person may one day experience the bliss of abundance, that justice is imperfect here below and the good person will one day be rewarded, the evil person punished, these ethical demands have not arisen in the simple social conditions of the native. His conception of the existence after death does not arise from hope and faith. It is, however, linked with the idea of agreeable conditions to the extent that in the future life with the "antigos" in heaven fish, game, and piki juice will be very abundantly provided, and it also takes into account the behavior of worthless fellows, for they roam about at night in the forest as malicious spirits, kilain-umike, spreading terror and alarm, not because they are, say, "cursed," but because they naturally continue their wickedness in another place.

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828 For the native, however, the root of the conviction about continued existence lies, not in feeling, but in intellect, despite the fact that the two are inseparably joined. For his level of judgment, it is a matter of knowledge. According to the conception of civilized peoples, the soul leaves the body for the first time at death, something entirely new happens, about which they know nothing from experience and observation, unless through spiritualistic means; because of this unknown, new thing, they cannot prove immortality, but are obliged to content themselves with believing it for ethical reasons. For the Indian, on

/369 cont./

[illegible] On the other hand, the process of the separation of soul and body is
776 not new; he experiences it day after day, as we have seen, when
775 the shade /Schatten, "shadow, shade"/ hastens away in the dream
[illegible] and leaves his body behind in the hammock. Ordinary death is a deep unconsciousness (coma) brought about by the poison which the sorcerer administers, and it differs from sleep only in the fact that the shade hastens too far away to be able to return. Only the medicine man who poisons himself returns to life. The experiences of the shade during sleep were already "real"; hence its "experiences" after death are just as "real." One is familiar with this reality, which is merely life in another place, from daily experience and has it amply confirmed by the deceased, with whose shades our own communicates during the dream, and by the sorcerers who occasionally visit the realm of the dead. In the latter Hamlet may find the wanderers who return from the regions of the unknown country. To die to sleep, no more /cited in English/.

775 The shades of the dead Bakairí go to heaven to the ancestors. Heaven is first of all not the land of the future, but of the past, the old ones are still there where all history began. The heaven
[776] in which the first Bakairí lived lay beside the earth in former times, and one could easily get over to it. Too many people died there, however, /370/ so the people moved to earth, and heaven rose up to where it is now and where the animals, the places, and the things which occur in the old stories may be seen to this day. "Everything remained as it was." "There were always Bakairí, but in the beginning there were very few." One
[811] need only hold fast to a few specific points, and one will recognize, in spite of all flights of fancy and in spite of all the elaboration by tradition, a core of naive, sound logic in the Indians' explanation of nature.

811 The Indians know no "must." They regard every occurrence in nature as a unique occurrence, or more correctly as a unique action. Indeed, laws are in fact known only as the result of the common work of many -- those who live and have lived. And as long as there are no laws and at best only habits, each individual is at the center of the

/360 cont./

772 773 order to watch as their dead grandmother Mero was burned. They had set the fire themselves -- one can still see it in the large Magellanic Cloud -- while another, the small Magellanic Cloud, arose through their carelessness, which I shall speak of later in detail. Keri in particular is the hero of all these stories: he caught the mutung with the bird snare; he robbed the king vulture of the sun-ball by assuming the shape of a tapir whose dark forms one can still clearly distinguish in the Argo part of the Milky Way. Besides the tapir, one can also see a jaguar and an ant bear of the legend. In fact, one need not be an Indian in order to observe the animals. I, too, distinctly recognized the tapir in particular.

821 151 The native predominantly sees animals up there for the same reason that he sees them down here in all kinds of things that remind him of some animal merely by some small characteristic; he cannot do otherwise because he apperceives chiefly in accordance with his hunter interests. It did not escape him, however, that the animals and things in the sky have a different appearance than their originals on earth, according to which they are determined. /361/ They are only figures. And yet they are more. For even though they may have been made at some time, he cannot regard them as works of art like his animal stools or sand drawings, because they move and are in the midst of a highly variable shifting of wind, clouds, and weather that takes place independently without one's seeing any human being. They must be bewitched.

772 773 All the more so since the same result is reached in another way. They are necessarily the oldest animals and things that there are. Each earlier generation, no matter what it thought of them, saw them as complete as does the present one, whereas, according to all present-day and earlier experience, the rivers and trees and inhabitants of the earth of all kinds are small at first and then grow big. Now all the ancestors have disappeared, year in, year out those who die are always disappearing -- where else should the oldest people be than among the oldest things? But to

[761] die is to be bewitched and transformed, just as the medicine man who takes poison and dies changes himself into any animal shape desired.

/362 cont./

539 more natural than that the tatú, well known for quickly digging itself in, should, as soon as it eludes its pursuer, take a group of those star holes. All that was missing for establishing the game of escape and pursuit was the quarrel, and its "apple of discord," for which again is chosen the favorite fruit, which is round and has butter-yellow meat, but any other might have been chosen. In short, the story originates, without any great power of invention, by making a connection between the characteristics of one of the heavenly animals that presented itself through the natural stimulus and a suitable group of stars that attracts the attention of the inquiring mind. Thenthe name runs "the giant armadillo comes out." All that is required is the interest that produces the question, and the exlanatory ideas are inevitable.

773 128 One generation may have contributed this, nother generation that. To continue the analysis up to the final details is simply impossible, if one because the comparative material with other Karaiben tribes is very meager.

761 055 612 Transformation. A large part of the Bakairi explanation of nature rests on the supposition of sorcery. They have no development, but only transformation. This takes place in two ways.

The first is that a dead person is blown upon and comes to life, or that a thing is blown upon and comes to lie. To the dead person the breath which he lacks is given back, to the thing, breath is imparted and with it life. This blowing, proceeding from the most natural attempt at resuscitation, and the tobacco-blowing of the modern medicine man must not be confused. The weak newborn babies in Maigéri (cf. p. 392), for whose life one feared, were blown upon day and night, but not with tobacco. It was only in practice that the two methods merged. The blowing of tobacco smoke on a patient was merely added by transference to the smoking of the doctor -- which, as we have seen (cf. p. 407), is merely the easiest and most pleasant of the various types of narcosis otherwise induced by drinking, on the use of which his art seems to be based. It has probably long been forgotten that by

/382 cont./

771 775 812 blowing it was intended to breathe in the breath. But in the legends the dead and things are always brought to life by simple but indispensable blowing, and the Bakaïrí sometimes translate egutieni, "to blow," into the Portuguese with rezar, "to pray, to blow," while ordinarily he uses soprar, "to blow," or assoprar, "to blow upon," just as the substantive related to egutieni is seputiênu, "wind."

Although I said that things become living or animate through blowing, on closer observation this is a very incorrect expression. The /383/ sorcerer accomplishes far more than breathing a "soul" or, as into the dead, "life," into them. We learn this from the most important example that human beings are made from things: men from arrows, women from maize pestles, after the necessary arrows and pestles have been carved out of cane and wood. To be sure, there were always Bakaïrí, but if there was a scarcity of them, the culture hero made new ones by fashioning arrows out of ubá reed, thrusting them upright into the ground, and blowing on them. In the same way each of the other tribes were made out of the arrow reed that they still carry today and that therefore still differentiates them today; the European was made from a wood resembling the stock of his gun. The fundamental [69] observation, which is later, as always, regarded as confirmation of the proceedings described, is that the tribes are differentiated by their arrows! Moreover, the arrow is the characteristic feature of the man. The women, on the other hand, come into being when maize pestles are carved, set upright against the mortar, and get the breath of life by being blown upon; those carved out of good wood start working immediately, the others are idle.

Neither arrows nor pestles are given a "soul," but rather the whole "person." When the sorcerer is finished, the man stands beside his arrow, the woman beside her pestle. The storyteller himself seems to be not entirely at ease about the process, for the sorcerer, as soon as he has blown, "goes to one side a little" and upon his return finds the men or women finished. An insect, which through mimicry has come to look like a jatobá leaf and is called "jatobá leaf" by the Bakaïrí, was created by blowing on the leaf. we might say "it came alive" or call it a "transformed leaf." The person is added to the already present reed, wood, leaf.

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771 Cardús: "The manner of greeting is
774 for one to say to another, 'Is it you?
576 Have you come? Have you arrived?
Are you well?' and no one speaks to
the guests upon their arrival, nor do
they speak for a while, because they
say that they are waiting for their
souls to arrive, which is actual nonsense."
(Card., on Pareci, 62, repr. Madrid,
576 1892.) The greeting between
Bacairis is ama, "you," to which
one replies, ura, "I"; or mawili,
"you came," to which one replies,
ée kywaili, "yes I came."

774 When we sleep, we dream says the piahi;--when we sleep, our shadow converses with the /251/ spirits (yamikra);--our shadow travels far,--when our shadow returns, we awaken;--when our shadow is afraid, at night, when it is time to sleep, we talk;--while our shadow sleeps, we dream;--we climb trees, we climb hills;--we walk with the yamikras,--we drink mingau /a manioc gruel or paste/, we eat, etc.

The egress is abnormal, but temporary, when a person faints from fright, because, with much shouting and fanning with ucuakáno leaves, there is success in getting the shadow to return, or when one has offended the piahi and yamikra, because, if duly propitiated, they pardon the crime and permit the shadow to return, as we shall see later.

[76] It is abnormal and permanent at death.

75 The Bacairis, in a very expressive phrase, claim that they do not fall ill from sickness itself (to-ewanä-fe Bakaéri tiwane-pa); illness is always injected by sorcerers (ome-odo, "lord of poison"), and the poisons, all of vegetable origin, are

/263 cont./

000 582 about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage.
585 Marriage, *[illegible]*, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have received any special ceremony.

761 764 (754) The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head
766 784 pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closest relatives remained *sasiki* and from which they emerged through the *tadasuino* feast.

776 895 (824) (825) (113) The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the *iamüra*, *topiehe*, *kaposi*, *kadopa*, and *kilaimo*. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

774 776 (241) 776 782 drapery used by the *iamura* and *kadopa*. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the *iamüra* deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, *kaposi* and *kilaimo* wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí.
784 756 Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

774 The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called *kati* or *sutabu*, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a *camisa* worn by the second soul, *kagatopuri*, a more fluid element that

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5. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys." *Revista Brasileira*. Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

[P 75-A]

778 came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairi did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid

776 of them. They were, however, afraid of certain

761 evil spirits—for instance, [illegible], who caused

753 death and sickness.

756 To become a shaman ([illegible]), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period

[749] sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would

[757] teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the

756 ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be

777 complete when the novice acquired his own spirit helper, which was always the ghost of a dead

[illegible] shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to

[779] him instructed him how to make a flute (either *[illegible]* or *[illegible]*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

756 Before beginning a performance, shamans al-

765 ways fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing

756 objects from the body the shamans prepared med-

757 icines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *[illegible]* tuber, and *[illegible]* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For

[249] healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *[illegible]* plant was used. The Bacairi also prepared aphrodisiacs

[P-5] from the *[illegible]* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

526 The Bacairi played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *[illegible]*. The ball (*[illegible]*)

[309] was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was